

Message Text

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STADIS/////////
FOR GLITMAN ONLY FROM LEDOGAR

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TAGS: OGEN

SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF A PROPOSED POLITICAL STATEMENT WHICH WOULD BE ISSUED AT THE END OF THE SUMMIT'S FIRST DAY. WE HAVE SENT THE TEXT TO THE WHITE HOUSE FOR THEIR APPROVAL AND ARE TRANSMITTING IT FOR THE PERSONAL INFORMATION OF AMBASSADOR BENNETT AND YOURSELF. WE ARE CONTINUING EFFORTS TO GAIN APPROVAL OF INSTRUCTIONS ON SUBSTANCE OF THE SUMMIT MEETING AND HOPE TO TRANSMIT THEM TO YOU FORMALLY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

1. FOR NEARLY THREE DECADES, THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY HAS SERVED TO PROMOTE PEACE, PROSPERITY AND COOPERATION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE AND THROUGHOUT EUROPE. BY MAINTAINING PEACE AND STABILITY ON THE CONTINENT, THE ALLIANCE HAS
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PROVIDED THE ESSENTIAL CONDITIONS TO ENABLE ITS PEOPLE TO ACHIEVE A FREER, RICHER AND MORE DIGNIFIED LIFE THAN AT ANY TIME IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND.

2. CONCEIVED IN RESPONSE TO AN EXTERNAL THREAT TO THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF ITS MEMBERS, THE ALLIANCE HAS EVOLVED INTO A TRUE COMMUNITY OF SOVEREIGN STATES THAT SHARE A COMMON BELIEF IN THE IMPORTANCE OF PLURALISTIC DEMOCRACY, THE INVIOABLE RIGHTS AND WORTH OF THE INDIVIDUAL, AND THE RULE OF LAW. THE FUNDAMENTAL

STRENGTH AND COHESION OF THE ALLIANCE IS BASED ON THE FACT THAT ALL ALLIED GOVERNMENTS ARE TRULY DEMOCRATIC AND THAT THEY ARE ABLE TO PROVIDE THEIR CITIZENS WITH UNPARALLELED SECURITY AND ABUNDANCE WITHOUT RESTRICTING INDIVIDUAL POLITICAL EXPRESSION OR ECONOMIC LIBERTIES.

3. DEVELOPMENTS IN RECENT YEARS HAVE, HOWEVER, SHOWN THAT THE ALLIANCE NOW FACES A SITUATION MORE COMPLEX THAN IN EARLIER YEARS. THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE MODERN WORLD HAVE MADE EVEN CLEARER THE NECESSITY FOR COOPERATION ON A WIDE RANGE OF MATTERS AMONG ALL NATIONS, WHATEVER THEIR SOCIAL OR POLITICAL ORGANIZATION. THE CHANGING SITUATION HAS ALSO EMPHASIZED THE DESIRABILITY OF A CORRESPONDING REDUCTION IN THE COSTLY COMPETITION IN WEAPONS WHICH DRAWS RESOURCES FROM TRULY PRODUCTIVE AND BENEFICIAL APPLICATIONS.

4. AS NATO ENTERS ITS FOURTH DECADE, ITS MEMBERS LOOK WITH CONFIDENCE TO THEIR ABILITY TO MEET THE CHALLENGES OF THE 1980'S. THEIR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS, BASED ON THE FREELY GIVEN SUPPORT OF THE GOVERNED, CONTINUE TO PROVIDE THE MOST EFFICIENT AND HUMANE MEANS OF ORGANIZING SOCIETY TO DEAL WITH THE TASKS OF THE MODERN
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WORLD. MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE REMAIN COMMITTED TO CLOSE COOPERATION AMONG THEMSELVES AS THE BEST MEANS OF ENSURING CONTINUED PEACE AND PROSPERITY, NOT ONLY FOR THEIR OWN PEOPLES BUT FOR ALL NATIONS OF THE EARTH.

5. DESPITE THE PROFOUND CHANGES WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE WORLD SINCE SIGNATURE OF THE NATO TREATY, RELATIONS BETWEEN THE NATO ALLIES AND MEMBERS OF THE WARSAW PACT HAVE REMAINED ONE OF THE MAJOR AND MOST SENSITIVE ASPECTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. FOLLOWING THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT WHICH DOMINATED THE WORLD SCENE A GENERATION AGO, A SITUATION HAS DEVELOPED IN WHICH POLITICAL DIALOGUE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION HAVE BEGUN TO CONSTITUTE AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. THE ALLIANCE REMAINS COMMITTED TO CONTINUATION OF THESE EFFORTS AS A CRITICAL FACTOR IN GUARDING THE PEACE AND PROSPERITY OF THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE AND THE WORLD. THESE EFFORTS CANNOT, HOWEVER, SUCCEED WITHOUT GOOD WILL AND HONEST EFFORTS ON THE PART OF BOTH EAST AND WEST.

6. DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD DURING THE PAST YEAR DO NOT PROVIDE REASON FOR OPTIMISM ABOUT THE READINESS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES TO PURSUE EAST-WEST COOPERATION ON AN HONEST AND OPEN BASIS. THE SOVIET MILITARY BUILD-UP IN EUROPE AND SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD CAN LEAD

ONLY TO CONCERN THAT THE USSR REMAINS COMMITTED TO EFFORTS TO USE MILITARY FORCE AS A MEANS OF IMPOSING ITS WILL ON OTHERS. CONTINUING DISREGARD FOR THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS BY WARSAW PACT GOVERNMENTS DEMONSTRATES THAT EAST AND WEST REMAIN PROFOUNDLY DIVIDED ON MANY SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES. THE EVOLUTION OF THE CRITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE NATO ALLIES AND MEMBERS OF THE WARSAW PACT WILL IN LARGE PART CONTROL THE FUTURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. MUCH OF THIS, BE-
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GINNING WITH THE CLIMATE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, MUST CLEARLY DEPEND ON THE WILLINGNESS OF THE WARSAW PACT.

7. IN LIGHT OF THIS PATTERN OF INCREASING COOPERATION ON THE ONE HAND AND CONTINUING DIVISIONS ON THE OTHER, A DECISION WAS MADE AT THE LONDON SUMMIT MEETING IN MAY, 1977 TO UNDERTAKE AN INTENSIVE REVIEW OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND ALLIED MILITARY REQUIREMENTS, BOTH FOR THE NEAR AND LONGER TERM. THE RESULTS OF THIS REVIEW HAVE PROVIDED THE ALLIES WITH A FIRM BASIS FOR PURSUING NATO'S TWIN TASKS OF DEFENSE AND DETENTE INTO THE 1980'S. THE REVIEW HAS CONFIRMED THE NEED FOR CLOSE COOPERATION IN ALL ASPECTS OF NATO'S ACTIVITIES AS A CONDITION FOR THEIR EFFORTS, AS INDIVIDUAL AND SOVEREIGN NATIONS, TO PROVIDE FOR THE SECURITY, PEACE AND FREEDOM OF THEIR PEOPLES.

8. IN PURSUING THESE GOALS, THE ALLIES UNDERLINE THE FACT THAT THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE HAS BEEN, AND ALWAYS WILL BE, PURELY DEFENSIVE IN NATURE AND INTENT. THE ALLIES HAVE NO DESIGNS ON OTHER NATIONS; NO NATION OR GROUP OF NATIONS NEED FEEL THREATENED BY NATO COUNTRIES. THE ALLIANCE STRONGLY SUPPORTS EFFORTS TO REDUCE THE LEVEL OF MILITARY CONFRONTATION IN EUROPE. UNTIL THESE EFFORTS BEAR FRUIT, NO NATION SHOULD BELIEVE THAT THE ALLIES WILL NOT TAKE ALL APPROPRIATE STEPS TO SECURE THE CIVILIZATION AND THE VALUES WHICH THEY CHERISH. CONTINUED DEDICATION BY MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE TO MAINTENANCE OF A STRONG DEFENSE IN NO WAY DETRACTS, BUT RATHER REINFORCES, THEIR ABILITY TO PURSUE CAREFULLY NEGOTIATED ARMS CONTROL AND OTHER MEASURES AIMED AT THE REDUCTION OF TENSIONS THROUGHOUT EUROPE.

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9. CONFIDENT OF ITS UNITY AND OF ITS ABILITY TO DEFEND ITS PEOPLES FROM EXTERNAL THREAT, THE ALLIANCE INTENDS IN COMING YEARS TO PURSUE THE GOAL OF REDUCED ARMAMENTS AND INCREASED EAST-WEST COOPERATION WHEREVER AND

WHENEVER POSSIBLE. NATO COUNTRIES CALL UPON THE MEMBER NATIONS OF THE WARSAW PACT TO JOIN IN THIS EFFORT TO ENSURE THAT THE CHALLENGES OF THE FUTURE ARE HANDLED THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS. THE GOAL OF ALL NATIONS -- EAST AND WEST -- SHOULD BE TO ESTABLISH THE KIND OF RELATIONS WHERE MUTUAL COMPREHENSION AND MUTUAL CONFIDENCE WILL BE PROGRESSIVELY SUBSTITUTED FOR RIVALRY AND MISTRUST.

10. THE EFFORTS OF ALLIANCE MEMBERS TO INCREASE MUTUAL CONFIDENCE IN EUROPE IN COMING YEARS WILL BE CONSTANT AND SINCERE. WHEN ALLIANCE EFFORTS ARE ANSWERED WITH HONEST EFFORTS AT COOPERATION, NATO MEMBERS WILL RESPOND WITH CONCRETE MEASURES TO INCREASE THE TIES BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. IF THESE EFFORTS ARE USED TO UNILATERAL POLITICAL OR MILITARY ADVANTAGE OR IF THE TRUST OFFERED BY NATO COUNTRIES IS NOT SHARED BY THE OTHER SIDE, THE WESTERN RESPONSE WILL BE UNEQUIVOCAL.

11. IN SEARCHING FOR INCREASED COOPERATION AND COMPREHENSION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, ALLIANCE MEMBERS WILL ADAPT THEIR INDIVIDUAL EFFORTS TO THEIR UNIQUE NATIONAL SITUATION. THEY WILL, HOWEVER, CONTINUE THE CLOSE CONSULTATIONS ON EAST-WEST ISSUES WHICH HAVE CHARACTERIZED THEIR EFFORTS IN THE PAST. THEY WILL ALSO CONTINUE TO CONDUCT THEIR EFFORTS ON THE BASIS OF THE FOLLOWING GENERAL PRINCIPLES:

-- WHILE ASSERTING READINESS TO COOPERATE WITH ALL NATIONS, THE ALLIES REAFFIRM STRONGLY THEIR REJECTION OF TOTALITARIAN METHODS OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND REMAIN CONVINCED THAT TRUE CONFIDENTIAL

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PEACE AND STABILITY CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY IF RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS IS PURSUED BY ALL NATIONS WITH THE SAME VIGOR AS ARE IMPROVEMENTS IN RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES. SERIOUS AND PROVOCATIVE INFRACTIONS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN RIGHTS CAN ONLY AFFECT ADVERSELY THE CLIMATE FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

-- THE ALLIES POINT OUT THAT DETENTE CANNOT ACCOMMODATE BREACHES IN AGREEMENTS WHICH CREATED IT. OF PARTICULAR CONCERN ARE THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT ON BERLIN OF 3 SEPTEMBER, 1971 AND THE FINAL ACT OF THE CSCE, SIGNED AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL IN HELSINKI ON AUGUST 1, 1975. DETENTE CAN ONLY BE COMPROMISED BY THE SEARCH FOR UNILATERAL GAINS OR BY THE FAILURE TO RESPECT SOLEMN COMMITMENTS CONCLUDED BETWEEN STATES.

-- EFFORTS TO INCREASE COOPERATION ARE LIKEWISE

ENDANGERED BY THE SEARCH FOR UNILATERAL GAINS IN OUTSIDE EUROPE, NOTABLY IN THE FORM OF EXTERNAL ARMED INTERVENTION. THE ALLIANCE WILL CONTINUE TO VIEW WITH CONCERN ACTIVITIES BY THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES IN AREAS SUCH AS THE HORN OF AFRICA.

-- THE ALLIANCE INTENDS TO PERSEVERE IN ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS DESIGNED TO ENHANCE STABILITY, REDUCE FORCE LEVELS AND PROMOTE THE SECURITY OF BOTH EAST AND WEST. NOTING, HOWEVER, THAT EXISTING FORMS OF NEGOTIATION ARE LIMITED IN SCOPE, THE ALLIANCE BELIEVES IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF NEW, SUPPLEMENTARY APPROACHES TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF MILITARY STABILITY AND SECURITY. SUCH DISCUSSIONS COULD ALSO INCLUDE EUROPEAN STATES WHICH ARE NOT CONFIDENTIAL

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MEMBERS OF NATO OR THE WARSAW PACT.

-- THE ALLIES WILL CONTINUE TO PLACE GREAT IMPORTANCE ON DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROCESS OF MULTILATERAL COOPERATION BEGUN WITH SIGNATURE OF THE CSCE FINAL ACT. REGARDING THE CSCE AS THE FRAMEWORK FOR EFFORTS OF THE STATES OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA TO IMPROVE THE LIVES OF THEIR CITIZENS AND TO CREATE CLOSER TIES BETWEEN THEIR GOVERNMENTS, THE ALLIES CONSIDER FULL AND RAPID IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT, IN ALL ITS ASPECTS, AS THE FOUNDATION TO REAL DETENTE.

-- THE PEACE, PROSPERITY AND SECURITY OF THE ALLIES NOT ONLY CONTRIBUTE TO WORLD STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT, BUT ARE IN TURN DEEPLY AFFECTED BY THE EXISTENCE OF MILITARY AND POLITICAL TENSIONS IN OTHER REGIONS. LOOKING BEYOND EUROPE, THE ALLIES WELCOME THE CONVENING OF THE UN SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT AS A POSITIVE STEP IN INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO RESOLVE DISPUTES THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS. THE ALLIES WILL PARTICIPATE ACTIVELY IN SSOD DELIBERATIONS AND WILL COOPERATE IN EFFORTS TO MAKE MORE CONCRETE THE DECISIONS TAKEN THERE.

-- IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD, THE ALLIES RECOGNIZE THE LEGITIMATE CLAIM OF DEVELOPING NATIONS FOR THE COOPERATION AND HELP OF INDUSTRIALLY ADVANCED STATES. THE ALLIES RECALL THE CONSIDERABLE EFFORTS UNDERTAKEN BY NATO MEMBERS WHICH FAR EXCEED THOSE OF WARSAW PACT STATES. THEY CALL ON THE EAST TO JOIN EFFORTS TO WORK WITH OTHER NATIONS OF THE WORLD TO MEET THE NEEDS AND MOBILIZE THE POTENTIAL OF HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF PERSONS NOW LIVING IN WANT. THE ALLIES DECLARE THEMSELVES WILLING TO EXPLORE WITH OTHER NATIONS OF EUROPE, INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE WARSAW

PACT, THE BEST MEANS OF DEALING WITH THESE PROBLEMS.

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